1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

171 from Yautepec at a considerable distance because he
[291] wears his trousers shorter and tighter and because he is likely to wear a handkerchief at his neck. It is also
[197] probable that there are dialectic differences[1] which distinguish Yautepec from Tepoztlán. Of differences
184 between hamlets within the community there are probably many. In Santa Catarina beans are first
[252] toasted and then boiled with much *epazote*,[2] whereas in Tepoztlán that staple is not toasted and the boiling is usually without *epazote*. No statistical proof can be
[582] offered here of the statement, which in Tepoztlán is
[829] generally accepted as representing the fact, that in San Andres marriage takes place, "according to ancient custom," generally at the age of twelve to sixteen, whereas in Tepoztlán the ages are most commonly from eighteen to twenty-four.

628 In spite of local differences, the eight villages are
184 bound together by certain institutions in which each
182 village has a share. Chief of these institutions are the common lands, the market, and the traditional festal and ceremonial organization. The bi-weekly interchange of goods and gossip at the market has already been briefly described. The other two principal integrating factors require more comment.

423 The common lands[3] of the community constitute
182

[1] Differences in Spanish spoken. Little Nahuatl is spoken at Yautepec, which, although a pre-Columbian site, is now largely a *mestizo* community.

[2] *Chenopodium ambrosioides* L. This statement rests on the account of one informant.

[3] The general subject of "The Land Systems of Mexico" is admirably treated in G. M. McBride's book of that title, previously cited.

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

621 mains in the old *barrio* carries on after his father's death the membership in the old *barrio* and fulfils the pledge to that *santo*, while the younger son takes up membership in another *barrio*. It will be observed that there is a tendency for the men within a *barrio* to be [591] related rather than the women, because in most cases a married son brings his wife to live in his father's house, or in a new house built on or near the same house site, while daughters marry and often go to live in other *barrios*. The *barrio* probably in no way af- [582] fects the choice of spouse; no influences on such choice appear except influences of propinquity and temperamental preference.

621 Membership in the *barrio* is attested by the impor- 794 tant fact of payment of the offering (S. *limosna;* N. 782 *huentli*) at the time of the *fiesta* of the *santo* of the *barrio*, and it is so perpetuated in the cases of individuals belonging to *barrios* other than those in which they live. Thus the La Santísima families in Los Reyes pay the offering when the *fiesta* of La Santísima takes place. They may also pay the offering for the *fiesta* of Los Reyes, but this is recognized as a later obligation and does not cancel membership in the *barrio* of La Santísima. By this same ceremonial payment the fact that the people living in the Santa Cruz enclave within San Miguel belong to Santa Cruz is annually revived at the *fiesta* of Santa Cruz. The offering is thought of as a perpetual pledge to the *santo*, irrevocable, and binding on a man's family after his death. The money so paid is expended for one or both

1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927) 1930
NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

reason. Orange juice is bad because it keeps the teeth from coming out. Honey is hard on the stomachs of adults as well as children.

Children may be bathed once a week, but generally at about noon. They are wrapped in blankets like newborn infants and are then rubbed with alcohol "to make them warm."[1]

Children spend their time largely in or near the home, with the other members of the family. There is little organized play among groups of children. Games are few and simple: kites, hobbyhorses, balls. Boys early share in the simple tasks around the house, and girls, when yet very small, are instructed how to make *tortillas* and how to grind maize. Children enter as soon as possible into adult interests and occupations.[2] Confirmation takes place at about eight years.

It is generally recognized that people marry younger in the village of San Andres than in Tepoztlán and in the other hamlets. In San Andres girls marry as young as twelve, and boys when they are fourteen or fifteen. In Tepoztlán they marry at seventeen and nineteen, or later—"a few even as late as thirty." If the husband is already economically independent, he may bring his wife to a house and house site of his own. Very commonly, however, he has not yet secured his patrimony, and the newly married couple live with the bridegroom's parents or surviving par-

[1] There is probably occasional, but rare, artificial limitation of families. The principal informant said: "I like to bear children. There are some here who do not—who do not have children. I do not know how that is. But there are *curanderas* who know. They fix them [*descomponen*] with medicine. But that isn't good. God intended to punish us by having children. It is a mortal sin not to have them."

[2] No information was obtained on sex instruction or early sex experience.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

175 631 villages is always listed as a single unit in the tax lists and in the early colonial documents. It appears as such in the *Matrículo de Tributos de Moctezuma*, a copy of which was obtained by the first viceroy of Mexico, Mendoza. Its relation to "Huastepeque" is also given in the *Relación de Tepuztlan* of 1580 and in later documents. After the Conquest, the older administrative lines were altered and Tepoztlán became subject to Cuernavaca, its ancient enemy.

[628] We know very little about the relations between Tepoztlán and the other villages of the municipio after the Conquest, but some documents suggest considerable friction. In a document from the *Hospital de Jesús*, dated January 19, 1774, we learn that the governor of Tepoztlán complained to the authorities in Cuernavaca that four of the villages traditionally subject to Tepoztlán had recently rebelled and had obtained the privilege of paying taxes separately.

628 631 The bonds between Tepoztlán and the surrounding villages of the municipio are numerous. The communal lands which belong to the municipio, the inter-village trade, the bi-weekly market at Tepoztlán are the strongest economic bonds. [182] Administratively, Tepoztlán is the center to which the other villagers must come to register births, marriages, and deaths; to pay taxes, federal and state; or to get a certificate of good conduct. The villagers are also dependent upon Tepoztlán for [793] their religious services, baptisms, communions, Mass, and confession, for only Tepoztlán has a resident priest. The priest visits each village once or twice a year on the occasion of the village fiesta. The fiesta system also brings the villagers together, for there is much inter-village visiting on such occasions.

[608] Tepoztlán is also related to the surrounding villages by ties of *compadrazgo*. In almost all cases, however, the dominant position of Tepoztlán is reflected by the fact that the other villagers seek out Tepoztecans as godparents and not vice versa. Although Tepoztecans have many godchildren in the surrounding villages, the converse is not true.

[582] Ties of marriage within the municipio are surprisingly weak. In all there are less than a dozen individuals from other villages in the municipio married into Tepoztlán. Cases of Tepoztecans going to live in the smaller villages are practically unheard of. There are more marriages between Tepoztecans and people from villages outside of the municipio than within it.

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103 flowers like ears of corn, which in the Mexican language are called *elotl*, and Xocotitlán because there are some fruits there which are called *guayabas*.

"The *estancia* of San Juan, which is in the direction of Mexico City and at the northern part of this town, is called Tepecuytlapilco, as they say because it is situated at the top of a hill, for so it signifies in the Spanish language.

"And the *estancia* of Santa Catalina, which is in the direction of Cuernavaca and at the eastern part of this town, they say it is called Cacatepetlac because it is built upon coarse rock and as it is of little use for growing things; the grass is short and this is what it means in the Spanish language.

"The *estancia* of San Andrés, which is the sixth and last of all, and stands among some hills to the south of this town, they say is called Alacueyacan (Atlacueyacan) in the Mexican tongue, which in the Spanish means land which was surrounded by reeds or place where many reeds grow, for it appears that formerly there were many there."

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

daughter four or five times a week. In the four-day period seven and one-half hours were consumed in marketing trips.

The daughters spend more time than the mother in sewing and knitting and going to church. These tend to be regarded as leisure activities, and the mother does not indulge in them except when necessary because she "doesn't want to lose time." However, she devotes more time to going to church and to other religious activities than this record indicates. Both sisters, but particularly the eldest, have the reputation of being devout and spend much time going to church. Almost the only occasion for the older girl to leave the house is because of some religious activity.

In the daily routine the women of the household have many more opportunities of working together than does the family as a whole. They may work together in the kitchen, accompany one another to the plaza as chaperones, and exchange instruction in sewing and knitting. Cooperation is at its highest in preparing fiesta meals, particularly the annual barrio fiesta.

The division of labor varies from family to family and depends chiefly upon the number of sons to the number of daughters; the number of grown children to the number of small children; the amount of land, livestock, fruit trees, and other property the family owns; and the ambition and enterprise of the parents.

MARRIAGE

There are three types of marriage in Tepoztlán, namely, *por lo civil* (civil marriage), *por la iglesia* (church marriage), and *uniones libres* (free unions). According to the Mexican Census of 1940 ten per cent of all married couples in Tepoztlán were married by civil law alone, twenty-five per cent by church alone, and fifty per cent by both civil law and church; and fifteen per cent had entered into free unions. To understand the distribution of these types of marriage it must be remembered that since 1928 civil marriage has been obligatory by law. Before that time most people in Tepoztlán married only by church, or lived in free union. Church marriage still carries the greatest prestige and, as in most of Mexico, is considered the only true form of marriage by the majority—but especially by the older folk. Civil marriage is viewed as a preliminary to church marriage; the priest is not supposed to marry anyone who does not have a legal marriage certificate. But marriage by civil law alone is increasing. A study of all Tepoztecan marriages recorded in Tepoztlán between 1941 and 1946 showed that a little over twenty per cent were civil marriages not followed by church marriages. The reasons for this trend will be discussed later.

The relatively low status of civil marriage is reflected in the types of people who marry only *por lo civil:* (1) orphaned girls with no family to press for a church marriage; (2) girls who become pregnant before marriage; (3) women who have had one or more children out of wedlock; (4) second marriages; (5) elopements; (6) poor boys who cannot afford a church wedding. In these cases there is an absence of elaborate preparation for the marriage. The couple generally appear

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

585 before the local municipal authorities in the same clothing they wear daily. They obtain a marriage certificate for which they pay a fee which varies with the economic status and political connections of the groom. Some pay as little as five or ten pesos; others pay as much as fifty pesos. After they get their marriage certificate [264] the couple may go to the home of the groom where chocolate, bread, wine, and *ponche* may be served. However, the simplicity of the civil marriage is in sharp contrast with the elaborate and expensive preparations for the church marriage.[8]

582 Less than a generation ago, girls commonly married between the age of twelve and fifteen and boys anywhere from sixteen to thirty, but most often in their middle and late twenties. Today there is a definite trend toward later marriage for girls and earlier marriage for boys. An analysis of 133 Tepoztlán marriages recorded in the municipio marriage registry from 1941 to 1946, inclusive, reveals that most girls marry between fifteen and seventeen and most boys between nineteen and twenty. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13. Frequency Distribution of Age of Marriage for Men and Women in 133 Cases Recorded During 1941-1946, Inclusive.

Age	No. of Men	No. of Women	Age	No. of Men	No. of Women
12	0	1	26	2	2
13	0	0	27	1	1
14	0	5	28	2	0
15	0	22	29	3	1
16	0	28	30	2	3
17	8	27	31	0	0
18	11	15	32	1	2
19	17	11	33	1	0
20	27	1	34	2	0
21	10	0	35	3	0
22	11	4	36	3	0
23	9	3	37	3	0
24	4	0	38	2	0
25	4	0	39	0	0
			40	1	0

Eighty per cent of the women and twenty-seven per cent of the men married at nineteen or earlier, whereas only ten per cent of the women and fifty-four per cent of the men married in their twenties. There are many more marriages of men than women in their thirties and forties. The few women who marry after twenty-nine represent cases of second marriage. In the past a girl who was not married by the [589] time she was twenty had little chance of getting married; and it was said of such girls, "She might as well enter a convent," and "She is ready to dress saints." More [875] and more girls are delaying marriage in order to go through secondary school and become teachers. It is interesting to note that many of the Tepoztecan school-

[8] In the past there were two stages in the civil marriage, the *presentación* and the actual marriage.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

teachers in the village who are now in their early twenties are still unmarried and are already considered "old maids."

A study of the age difference between spouses in the 133 couples mentioned above showed that the husband was older than the wife in all but three cases. In one of these cases the husband and wife were of the same age, and in the other two the wives were one and six years older than the husbands. Table 14 shows the distribution of the age differences between spouses in which the husbands were older.

TABLE 14. Age Differences Between Husbands and Wives, 1944.

Age Difference (in years)	No. of Cases
1	20
2	13
3	24
4	15
5	11
6	15
7	11
8	3
9	5
10	2
11	1
12	2
13	1
14	1
15	2
16	0
17	1
18	1
19	1
20	4

The qualities looked for in a spouse vary considerably between boys and girls. In selecting a wife, boys generally choose a girl for romantic reasons, beauty, or personality. Girls tend to be more realistic about selecting a husband and will often refuse to marry a boy who is known to drink, chase women, be violent, or be lazy. However, status factors are very important in marriage. It is usual for boys to seek out a girl who is poorer and who has the same or less education, so that "the man can be the boss" and his family need not be ashamed before her. Tepoztecan boys tend to "respect" and avoid having affairs with girls from the more important and prosperous families, for fear of incurring reprisals from the parents of such girls. Girls, on the other hand, seek to improve their economic status with marriage, and it is rare for a girl to marry a man with less education. As a result of these attitudes, the daughters of the families in the upper economic group in the village have difficulty finding husbands. They tend to marry later, and to marry more educated men or men from the outside. Occasionally a wealthy girl in her late twenties will marry a boy poorer than herself rather than remain unmarried.

An analysis of twenty-five marriages that occurred in two of the smaller barrios

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

581 within the last ten years revealed that in fifteen cases the wife was poorer than the husband at the time of marriage, in five cases husband and wife had approximately the same economic status, and in five cases the wife was from a wealthier family than the husband. In each of the five marriages in the last group there was some extenuating factor which explained the fact that a rich girl married a poor boy. Two of the girls were known to have had affairs previous to the marriage; one girl was thirty years old and married a boy of seventeen; one girl was from a small nearby village and married "up" socially, if not economically, into Tepoztlán; and one girl married for love over the objections of her parents.

Parents, in giving their blessings to a marriage, are more concerned with practical considerations of the health of the prospective mate and the family's reputation. [584] The boy's mother and godmother will make inquiries about the girl and will oppose her if she is found to have a reputation for being lazy or disobedient at home, having many *novios*, going out alone, or being sickly. If the women in the girl's [853] family frequently suffer from lack of milk at the birth of a child, she will be considered a bad risk. Mothers are also wary of their son's marrying a girl who is the favorite at home. These factors are of prime importance to the boy's mother since she will be closely associated with her future daughter-in-law. If the mother [584] strongly disapproves of the girl, she will do everything she can to break up the relationship. If the son insists on the marriage, his parents will be obligated to carry out his wishes but will do so grudgingly and will make a poor wedding.

The girl's parents seek a son-in-law who owns or who will inherit some property and who knows how to work hard. They are not so demanding about personal qualities as are his parents, since their son-in-law will, for the most part, not live with them, although they generally disapprove of a man who drinks a great deal or who is *muy enamorado*. A boy who is discovered to be their daughter's *novio* will almost always be strongly disapproved of by the girl's parents, because of their anger over being deceived and because it is taken to be evidence of the boy's lack of respect for them.

● 582 Marriage restrictions in Tepoztlán follow the usual Catholic tradition of western culture. Marriage between all but distant relatives is forbidden. First and second cousins do not marry, and marriage between third and fourth cousins is dis- [605] couraged. However, relationships beyond second cousins are often not carefully kept track of so that in practice there are many marriages between relatives. There are also marriages between individuals of the same surname. An interesting aspect 582 of marriage restrictions is that children of *compadres* cannot marry each other, for 608 they are "spiritual brothers and sisters." Since the *compadre* terminology is also extended to the sibling of the *compadre*, this marriage restriction also includes their [601] children, and many families are therefore ruled out from those eligible for marriage. There was not a single case of marriage between children of *compadres*.

582 The great majority of Tepoztecans marry within their own village. Of 585 married couples in the village in 1944 only 58 were marriages with outsiders. Of [620] those marrying into the village, 35 were women and 23 were men, reflecting the [591]

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

predominance of patrilocal residence. Eighteen of the outsiders married to Tepoztecans came from the surrounding villages within the municipio of Tepoztlán; forty came from rural regions of nearby states such as Guerrero, Puebla, and Mexico, D.F. The relatively few marriages between Tepoztecans and other villages within the municipio are probably due to the attitudes of superiority of Tepoztecans.

Forty-two per cent of the marriages in the village are between members of the same barrio. (See Table 15.) This is a much higher proportion than might be

TABLE 15. Inter- and Intra-Barrio and Village Marriages, 1944.

Barrio	Men Married to Women of Other Barrios	Men Married to Women of Other Villages or Towns	Women Married to Men of Other Barrios	Women Married to Men of Other Villages or Towns	Intra-Barrio Marriages	Couples From Other Barrios or Villages	Total
Santo Domingo	39	11	13	10	70	4	147
La Santísima	44	6	19	6	38	20	133
San Sebastián	12	4	4	1	10	8	39
San Pedro	2	2	2	..	4	1	11
San Miguel	33	7	10	4	52	21	127
Santa Cruz (large)	26	2	7	1	26	3	65
Santa Cruz (small)	15	2	1	..	3	4	25
Los Reyes	15	4	6	1	10	2	38
Total	186	38	62	23	213	63	585

inferred from Redfield's statement on this point in 1926-27. As might be expected, the highest percentage of intra-barrio marriages occurs in the larger barrios where there is a wider choice of eligible mates. The relatively high incidence of intra-barrio marriage means that one's affinal relatives are within one's own barrio. Since visiting and other social activities tend to follow kinship lines, this type of marriage strengthens the barrio as a social unit.

Inter-barrio marriages constitute approximately 49 per cent of all marriages. By far the greater number are cases in which the women leave their own barrio and go to live in the barrio of their husband, again reflecting the preference for patrilocal residence. However, the fact that 85 cases (representing 16 per cent of all couples) were those in which the men went to live in the barrio of their wives, is significant. Tepoztecans speak with deprecation of matrilocal residence. When a young man goes to live with his wife's people after marriage, it is said, "se regaló como perro" (he was given away like a dog). Another common expression is, "se fué como 'nuero'" (he went as a male daughter-in-law). Matrilocal residence occurs for the most part in the case of poor orphans or in the case of younger men marrying older and more dominating women.

It can be seen in Table 15 that most intermarriages are between the large ad-

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

joining barrios of the center, namely Santo Domingo, San Miguel, and La Santísima. Table 15 also shows that individuals from the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián marry very little with individuals of the larger barrios. It is noteworthy that there was not a single marriage between the barrio of San Pedro and Santo Domingo. These two barrios represent the extremes in size and are also at opposite ends of the village.

Divorce and Separation: On the whole, marriage is quite stable in Tepoztlán. Divorce as such is practically unknown. However, separations occur and may be initiated by either spouse. In the cases we have studied there were about as many wives who left their husbands as vice versa. The most frequent cause for separation on the part of the husband is that he finds another woman more attractive. Since it is common for men to have mistresses, permanent attachments are often formed and the wife and children may be abandoned. Most of the cases of abandonment are those of free unions. A man will feel greater hesitation at leaving his wife if he has been married by church. Infidelity on the part of the wife is considered a just cause for beating her but it is rarely a cause for separation. A wife may leave her husband if he drinks too much or if he is lazy or beats her too often. Of course, wives are supposed to put up with these things, but some do not. Interference by parents often leads to separations. The local judge, who has heard many cases of marital discord, considers parental interference as the primary factor in most separations.

When a separation occurs, the children invariably stay with the mother. The husband takes no responsibility for his family and makes no contribution for their support. Indeed, it is so unusual for a man to support an abandoned wife that when it does happen it is said that he must have been bewitched. However, when a man continues to help support his wife (*pasar los gastos*) after he has left her, he still retains sexual rights and may treat her as a *querida* (sweetheart). Godparents of the spouses may make some effort to reconcile the couple but this is not always effective. In the past few years the *monjas* (Catholic nuns) who have come to the village have been making a house-to-house campaign to try to unite separated couples and to marry couples who have been "living in sin." They have met with little success, for Tepoztecans resent their activities as undue interference in their personal matters.

As might be expected in a village of this size, separations invariably lead to a great deal of gossip, accusations, and bitterness, and usually involve many more individuals than just the spouses.

Changes in Marriage: The principal changes which have occurred in marriage in Tepoztlán since 1910 are as follows: (1) delay in the age of marriage for girls, earlier marriage for boys, and the consequent development of a period of adolescence and courtship; (2) transition from a system of marriage arranged by the parents, with or without the consent of the children, to one in which the individuals choose their spouses but may follow the formal procedures of having their parents act as intermediaries for the marriage arrangements; (3) elimination of the bride

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

125
[828] the continuation of a test on the ground that *se calienta la cabeza*, that is, the child's head would get too hot from thinking so much!

SUBJECTS CHOSEN

The total population whose records could be used in the study was one hundred and six. Six records were discarded since the subjects failed to give any responses or gave responses not related to the stimulus material. The subjects ranged in age from five to seventy-four years, fifty-nine were males and forty-seven were females. No attempt was made to secure an equal number of subjects at different age levels by sex, but we did obtain a small but fair sampling of children and adults at various age levels. The subjects were divided into five chronological age categories with the idea of comparing them: young children, children just before puberty, adolescents, younger adults, and older adults. This selection was somewhat arbitrary, since we had in mind the accepted age range of children, adolescents, and younger and older adults in American Society.[5]

Groups used for comparison in this study were as follows:

		C. A. Range	*Females*	*Males*
A	Older adults	47-74[6]	12	9
B	Younger adults	20-39	9	12
C	Adolescents	13-19	15	10
D	Children just before puberty	9-12	12	13
E	Young children	5-8	4	10

157 *RESULTS: THE GROUP AS A WHOLE*

The intellectual approach of Tepoztecans to the world around them appears to be concrete rather than abstract (D larger than W, see Table 54). They stick predominantly to the actual world in which they live, a world of everyday occurrences (D responses and no preponderance of phantasies over responsiveness to stimulation from the world around). Their movement (M) and color (Sum C) responses are fairly equally balanced except in the case of the older males, who give preponderantly color responses. A small deviant group (14 cases out of 106), ten of whom belong to one family, have a more exaggerated mode of responding to the cards. They are determined and try to do their best, as do the rest of the population, but when a job is too hard for them they resort to a fragmentary type of Rorschach response, breaking down the situation into minute and repetitive items (seeing countless parts of animals and plant details).[7] Aside from this minority group of fussy individuals, who would be called obsessive-compulsive in the United States, the majority of tested Tepoztecans do not give up a task, nor do they resort to unrealistic aloofness with flights into phantasy.

[582] [885]

[5] Although many girls between the ages of thirteen and nineteen are married in Tepoztlán, they usually do not maintain their own homes nor take on the full responsibilities of adulthood until they are older, so that their place in the adolescent group is not without justification.

[6] Two females and five males in this group were fifty-five years of age or older.

[7] In a subsequent study on family groups, this family will be discussed in detail.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

tion, although very secretive, is not uncommon, and it is said that many women take medicine to make themselves sterile.

In sharp contrast to women, men in Tepoztlán prefer large families and are outspoken in their desire to have many sons to help them. In many husband-wife relations there is an underlying struggle in which the wife tries to limit the number of pregnancies against the protests of her husband. If conception does not take place within a reasonable length of time, husbands may suspect their wives of taking medicine to prevent it. Failure to conceive may be sufficient cause for abandonment, and in the few cases in which women were known to have prayed for a child the motive almost always was to please the husband. Men show little interest in learning methods of birth control, and it is highly improbable that many husbands would practice it or permit their wives to.

The differences in the attitudes of men and women toward having children stem from several factors. Men often marry at a more mature age and when they feel ready for marriage, but girls marry quite young, and often as a result of pressure from their suitors or their parents or because of pregnancy. Men frequently marry for the purpose of raising a family; women, except when they are pregnant, usually marry for motives entirely unrelated to having children. Unlike women, who become more dependent upon their mother-in-law and husband at the birth of a child, men acquire a new independence and a more respected status as *padre de familia*. Becoming a mother does not in itself improve a woman's status, nor is there any perceptible change in the treatment of wives during pregnancy. As one informant put it, "A good husband will continue to be good when his wife is pregnant, and a bad one will continue to beat her."

The strict division of labor in Tepoztecan homes, in which the burden of the care of the children in sickness and in health falls upon the mother, is often given as an explanation of the different attitudes of men and women toward having children. "It makes no difference to the men how many children there are. It is the wife who has to see that there is enough for all."

Motherhood is not glorified in Tepoztlán. The prevailing prudishness toward sex, as well as the reciprocal respect-relations between parents and children, results in the avoidance of the subject. Most Tepoztecan girls grow up in an atmosphere in which negative attitudes of fear and shame toward motherhood, pregnancy, and even marriage have more opportunity of developing than positive ones. Despite the early assumption of the care of small children and household duties, there is an absence of positive psychological preparation in the training of young girls for the acceptance of motherhood. This is reenforced by the martyr-like attitude of their own mothers toward husbands and children.

PREGNANCY

The most common expression to describe pregnancy is "to become ill with child." Sterility (*yomitztli*) is thought to be due to "cold" in the womb,[2] and massages

[2] Sterility is also explained by "cold" in Chan Kom. *Ibid.* p. 181.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

18 *adolescence, courtship, and marriage:*

882 192 [881] [589] THE PERIOD between childhood and adulthood is relatively ill-defined in Tepoztlán and unmarked by special occasion or ceremony. In the recent past, this interim was brief or non-existent for girls. Until about age twelve, girls were called *niña* or *sisigwa*, and from twelve to fourteen they were *señorita* or *ichpokame*. But because of early marriage most girls passed directly from *niña* to *señora*. *Señoritas* who did not marry soon were *solteras* or *ichpokath*. At the present time in Tepoztlán, girls are *niñas* until about age fifteen and are *señoritas* between about fifteen and twenty. Though girls over twenty are still *señoritas* they are viewed as *solteras*. Both the period of childhood and marriageability have been lengthened by several years. A majority of the parents withdraw their daughters from school at about twelve, the age at which girls were married a generation ago. This practice extends the interim period rather than childhood, because girls of twelve and over conduct themselves more like *señoritas* than like *niñas*.

882 [582]

The situation was and is quite different for boys, who, unlike girls, were not hurried into adulthood by early marriage. In the past, as well as now, boys are called *muchachos* or *piltontle* from about age seven to seventeen or eighteen. There is no native term to differentiate any periods within this wide age range. After seventeen or eighteen, boys are called *jóvenes*, *muchachos*, or *telpokath*. This period varies considerably in length, since there is no set or recommended age for marriage for boys. Compared with girls, the change in age status of boys occurs later, more gradually, and with less strain. Today the development of boys is even slower because the assumption of full-time adult work, which for many in the past took place at about ten years of age, now generally occurs at fifteen. Childhood, or the period of play and education, has thus been lengthened, and boys may go to school as late as fourteen years of age without incurring criticism.

[195] [582] [872]

ADOLESCENCE

883 The intermediate period between childhood and adulthood begins to have the characteristics of adolescence, as we know it, and some of the better educated people in Tepoztlán now use this term. There are, however, several fundamental differ-

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THE ADOLESCENT GIRL

882 Although a girl becomes a *señorita* at fifteen, adolescence may be said to begin at twelve or thirteen. At this age girls are withdrawn from school to stay at home and work with the mother. They are expected to give up friends and habits of play and to devote themselves to caring for younger siblings and doing household chores. Some girls of this age are reluctant to discontinue their former activities and receive a good deal of punishment before they resign themselves to it.

At a girl's fifteenth birthday, her parents prepare her for marriage by presenting her with a pair of shoes for holidays, a bright colored dress and apron, and perhaps a pair of silver or gold earrings. Even very poor parents make an effort to give their daughter new clothing to attract a husband. Girls are very pleased by this and pay much attention to their appearance. They generally look better groomed than either *niñas* or married women. Despite the new clothes and other finery, some girls are 883 reluctant to become *señoritas* because they have even less freedom and are expected to do more work at home. They must now do everything that a married woman does, wash and iron the heavier clothes, as well as the badly soiled ones, sew, grind corn, make larger tortillas, grind coffee, cook all the food eaten by the family, learn to make *mole* and prepare fiesta dishes, and also sometimes go for water. In addition the girls are given almost entire care of their younger brothers and sisters. The girls are held responsible if the children are hurt, become ill, or are naughty. Usually the older girls are permitted to punish their charges lightly and to send them on errands, but they do not have full authority, even when the mother is not at home. In general the elder girls are expected to defer to the younger ones and to be protective and compliant. If a younger brother or sister complains to the mother about the older girl, she may be punished.

The contrast between the girls who stay at home and those who continue going to school is striking. The educated girl usually does very little housework, assisting only with the lighter tasks. She has more leisure time, more friends, and is generally less restricted by her parents. Even if she does no professional work after completion of school, she automatically enjoys a higher status than do her less educated [582] peers. These girls tend to marry late because of the difficulty of finding a suitable husband. Girls who continue to go to school until fifteen years of age or longer are a particular source of apprehension to their parents. As a precaution, and at much expenditure of time and money, girls who attend school out of town are taken to and from school by one of the parents or an elder brother on week-ends or holidays.

After menstruation occurs, the mother becomes more strict in her surveillance of 864 her daughter. The most emphatic restriction and discipline are applied to the 584 adolescent girl in her relations with boys. She is warned over and over that the worst thing she could do is speak to a boy or pay attention to anything he might say to her. She is told that boys are dangerous and often the cause of disgrace, and that only crazy or "bad" girls have anything to do with them before marriage. Girls are warned not to bring shame to the parents and they are threatened with severe punishment. Girls are so guarded that a delay in returning from an errand may